

**FIGHTING THE MAN:**  
**A CASE STUDY OF THE WESTERN CAPE ANTI-EVICTION CAMPAIGN**

Allison Grill  
School of International Training  
Advisor: Frederico Settler; University of Cape Town

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**Abstract**

This study looks to develop an understanding of how marginalized communities throughout South Africa are bettering their own lives. A number of them have mobilized, some in larger numbers than others, to form a wide range of social movement organizations in the country. This paper uses one such movement, the Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign, as a case study to examine how social movements have developed in post-apartheid South Africa. This paper will look at strategies utilized, obstacles faced and some of the people behind the Anti-Eviction Campaign to better understand its role in the mobilization and empowerment of local communities. Additionally, I will be examining national civic engagement in South Africa and the Anti Eviction Campaign's role in a larger social movement. Research for the paper was compiled using interviews, participant observation and a review of secondary sources such as local newspapers and peer-reviewed articles.

**Important Abbreviations**

African National Congress- ANC

Western Cape Anti Eviction Campaign- Campaign/AEC

Treatment Action Campaign- TAC

South African Communist Party- SACP

Congress of South African Trade Unions- COSATU

Reconstruction and Development Programme- RDP

Growth, Economic and Redistribution program- GEAR

Anti Privatization Forum- APF

Durban Social Forum- DSF

World Conference on Racism- WCAR

Joe Slovo Task Team- JSTT

## **Introduction**

In preparing for my trip to South Africa I read Nelson Mandela's Long Walk to Freedom and was enchanted by the African National Congress (ANC) and what it stood for. I believed that the ANC was a governing party that represented change and empowerment of the most marginalized of its citizens. However, I quickly found that not to be the case; the underprivileged of South Africa, the poorest of the poor, are still ignored today in the post-Apartheid state. The transition to democracy was paraded in the media as one of peace and tranquility; Nelson Mandela's face appeared everywhere yet shortly after 1994 the world forgot about South Africa. The apartheid regime was gone, the new government represented the majority and the new constitution was one of the most liberal and progressive that the world had ever seen. However, the euphoria wore off quickly for the majority of South Africans; those who were still living without water, electricity or in the fear that they may lose their home at any moment.

South Africa has a long history of social movements and civil disobedience. Throughout the liberation struggle churches, students and political organizations all mobilized in order to transform the South African government into a democratic body and, by doing so, ensure equal rights for all citizens. Throughout the struggle the ANC, which often was in the forefront of the movement, was based on a socialist platform; the 1955 Freedom Charter promoted nationalization of the major industries, including banks and mines (Bond 2007: 15) and the ANC worked closely with the South Africa Communist Party (SACP). However, since taking control of the governing party, the policies of the ANC have continuously moved to the right, so far as implementing the neo-liberal economic policy, GEAR. The effect that the rightward movement

of the ANC has had on the working class and unemployed is hotly contested and is a whole paper in itself. This paper is not about that. It is about what people are doing about their own destinies and the successes they have achieved in a time of great anger and frustration.

The Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign (will be referred to as the ‘Campaign’ throughout this paper) is a social movement organization that began in 2000 to resist government-led evictions in Mitchell’s Plains, a ‘colored’ township on the outskirts of Cape Town. The government planned to evict a family from Talfesig, an area of council houses, but when the police arrived they were met by a group of local community members. This resistance began peacefully but escalated when members of the police brutally attacked one member of the community, Ashraf Cassiem. Shortly thereafter, a group of Talfesig residents decided to create an organization to formally address the issue of evictions in the area. This organization grew as communities from all over the Western Cape contacted the Campaign, asking for advice and support in dealing with evictions and other service delivery issues (Desai 2007).

Today the Campaign represents over forty communities and deals with a wide range of problems. The Campaign engages in direct action with the state, legal processes, and mass mobilization and education of communities. Using three communities associated with the Campaign, this paper will examine its successes and shortcomings, its ability to mobilize and empower communities and its role in greater social movements taking place in the country. The communities studied, Joe Slovo informal settlement in Langa, Symphony Way in Delft, and QQ Section in Khayelitsha were chosen based on availability of Campaign activists and participation in current activities. Another area in Delft, where the Campaign is not active, was also visited

and observed. These communities and their coordinators shed light on the activities of the Campaign and the effect social movements can have on marginalized communities.

This paper will first look at some social movement theories and will briefly examine globalization and its effects on South Africa. Because the movements of South Africa are neither isolated nor unique I will briefly discuss the international response to an increasingly globalized world along with a brief history of this country. I will then discuss the methodologies used to gather research and information. I will then examine popular movements in South Africa today and where the Campaign is placed within that larger picture. The following sections will describe each community researched and the engagement, or lack thereof, with the Campaign. Section eight will discuss both successes and obstacles faced by Campaign activists and community members and section nine will discuss the future for the Campaign and other social movements in this country. The paper will conclude with suggestions for further research.

The limitations of this study include limited time and experience. The research, which includes interviews and participant observation, had to be completed within three weeks. This restricted the number of communities that could be visited and activists that could be interviewed. However, seven interviews were conducted in that time which did allow for a sufficient amount of information to be gathered. Additionally, my personal lack of experience in the researching field was an initial obstacle. My first few interviews were not as productive as they could have been because I did not know exactly how to go about collecting the information I needed. However, as the weeks went by I got more comfortable in my role as a researcher and the information became more available.

## Literature Review

Social movements are defined differently by social and political theorists of various ideologies. Sociologist Charles Tilly suggests that “the proper analogy to a social movement is neither a party nor a union but a political campaign. What we call a social movement actually consists in a series of demands of challenges to power-holders in the name of a social category that lacks an established political position” (Tilly 1985 quoted in Ballard 2006: 2). Social movements are often defined as “collection action... which use non-institutional channels” (Jelin 1986 quoted in Ballard 2006: 3) and which “largely exist within that sphere defined as civil society” (Ballard 2006: 3). It is important to note that protests and campaigns about one or several issues do not, by themselves, constitute a social movement. It is only when protests are networked and shared concerns are raised that social movements arise (Rootes 2003). The Campaign, for example, is a social movement organization that is a response to local issues but is also a player in a larger, emerging social movement in South Africa.

There are four dominant theories in the discourse surrounding social movements. In the opening to their book, *Social Movements: An Introduction* (1999), Donatella della Porta and Mario Diani outline the four theories as collective behavior, resource mobilization, political process, and new social movements. While the research for this paper loosely followed a resource mobilization framework it is important to understand each of these theories, seeing as they are so prominent in the evolution of social movement theory.

Collective behavior, which emerged out of the structural-functional school of sociology, was developed in the 1920's in the 'Chicago School', the birthplace of much of contemporary

sociology (della Porta & Diani 1999: 5). Within this discipline, social movements began to be seen as a “part of the normal functioning of society and the expression of a wider process of transformation” (della Porta & Diani 1999: 5). Collective behavior theory focuses on the need for change, which is “conceived of as a part of the psychological functioning of the system” (della Porta & Diani 1999: 6).

During the 1960’s and 1970’s collective theories of social movements came under attack for regarding social movements as irrational and impulsive. While they were seen as necessary and integral parts of the system, “action became to be devalued as reactive behavior, incapable of strategic rationality” (della Porta & Diani 1999: 7). In order to challenge these arguments and expand the discourse around social movements American sociologists initiated research centered on the “processes by which the resources necessary for collective action are mobilized” (della Porta & Diani 1999: 7). Some of the prominent theorists of this discipline include Mayer Zald, Anthony Oberschall, and Charles Tilly; they defined collective movement as a “rational, purposeful and organized action... that derives from a calculation of the costs and benefits, influenced by the presence of resources” (della Porta & Diani 1999:8). Numerous studies have focused on the resources available, links social movements have, tactics used by the state to control collective action and results of social movements. In all, resource mobilization theorists seek to answer questions related to the “evaluation of costs and benefits of participation in social movement organizations” (della Porta & Diani 1999: 7). This paper will follow this framework as it engages with the obstacles faced and resources utilized by the Campaign.

Della Porta & Diani (1999: 9) label the next perspective as ‘political process’ which is an

approach that pays more attention to the political and institutional environment in which social movements operate”. This approach focuses on the relationship between political process and protest and made it increasingly difficult to define movements as “marginal and anti-institutional” (della Porta & Diani (1999: 9). The final theory, new social movement is one that argues that conflict among class is of decreasing relevance and that representation of movements as largely homogeneous is not feasible anymore. New social movement actors, it is argued, “do not limit themselves to seeking material gain, but challenge the notions of politics and society themselves” (della Porta & Diani 1999:13). These theories are by no means mutually exclusive; they are fluid and theorists often borrow ideas and concepts from different perspectives. At different times this paper utilizes and engages with concepts from each theory as it explores the Anti-Eviction Campaign.

The Campaign does not directly challenge globalization or the neo-liberal economic policies of the ANC. However, it is important to discuss these concepts to get a better understanding of the global context that the Campaign is functioning within. Globalization is a term that has taken over social, economic and political discourses in modern society. It is frequently defined by “dramatic increases in international trade and finance, the growing importance of multi-national corporations in the international economy, and, more generally, the growing interconnectedness of many parts of the world” (Ballard et al 2007: 8). Globalization also impacts the production system, communication and information technologies, and the movement of capital. While the effects of globalization are contested in the literature surrounding the phenomena, it cannot be contested that its effects are global—it’s “beneficiaries

and victims of globalization are present in both the industrialized and the developing world” (Ballard et al 2007: 10).

Globalization has had an interesting effect on South Africa. The transition to democracy also saw, with it, a transition to neo-liberal economic strategies that few saw coming. The welfare-based Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) of the early 1990’s had the potential to support the underprivileged of the country--those that were systematically uneducated and, therefore, often unemployed, due to the racist policies implemented by the National Party. In his expose on the economic transition of the ANC, Elite Transition: From Apartheid to Neo-liberalism in South Africa, Patrick Bond (2005: 94) outlined the five-year goals of RDP: “a million new low-cost houses available to even the poorest South Africans, electrification of 2.5 million houses, hundreds of thousands of new jobs, clean water and sanitation for all”. These are just some of the targets presented in the document but they are all, as Bond (2005: 94) points out, “quite feasible”. However, today South Africa is faced with a national unemployment rate of 36 percent, a poverty rate of 45 to 55 percent, and the Gini index is on the rise (Ballard et al 2005: 13). As a response to the negative effects of globalization, such as outsourcing of jobs, social movements have emerged around the country; social movements that are by no means unitary and uniform, but are all putting pressure on the government and demanding that the needs of all South Africans are met.

Today there is an increasingly popular global movement to combat the current state of globalization. This movement comes under a number of different names and will be referred to as the ‘alternative-globalization movement (AGM) for the remainder of this paper. It should be

noted that this name is deliberate; the movement is popularly known as the anti-globalization movement but that is a misnomer. Many activists and authors, such as Patrick Bond and Peter Marcuse (2005: 417), argue that it is not 'no-globalization' that is desired, but an alternative to the current state of globalization. This movement often encompasses a number of different social, environmental, and political movements from all over the world. In 1999 at the Seattle IMF/World Bank protests feminists and socialists, pacifists and anarchists, environmentalists and teamsters were all standing side by side in an attempt to protest the World Bank and neo-liberal policies it promotes.

As mentioned earlier, social movements are not new to South Africa. While it is often romanticized, the liberation movement is one of the quintessential social movements of the twentieth century. Political organizations, such as the ANC and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), joined together with NGOs and a number of community-based organizations (CBOs), such as local school groups and churches, and formed a collective mass with the common goal of ending the apartheid regime and the minority rule of the National Party (Ballard et al 2006: 14). The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the SACP played large roles in the liberation movement and while there were differences in ideologies and differing opinions in how to go about reaching the goal of a democratic South Africa, these organizations formed a massive social movement that used a number of different tactics to engage with the both the state and the world. However, many of the opposition organizations during the liberation movement have been absorbed into the post-apartheid government, thus leaving opponents of the government without a voice with which to express or a mechanism to organize opposition

(Ballard et al 2006: 15). The history of South Africa cannot be ignored while examining today's social movements; “whether it is the economic crisis of post-apartheid South Africa... or the cost-recovery initiatives of the local state... or the democratic and essentially liberalized political environment of this period” (Ballard et al 2006: 398) the movements of today are effected by the past.

So what is the state of social movements and civil engagement today? This paper will attempt to answer that question by, firstly, examining the Western Cape Anti Eviction Campaign and then looking at a larger context of social movements in South Africa today.

## **Methodology**

The research for this paper was gathered using interviews, participant observation and through secondary sources. As previously mentioned, seven interviews were conducted: three with Campaign coordinators, one with a community leader, one with a local academic, one with a local activists, and one with two community members in Delft. Everybody interviewed for this study was incredibly accommodating and forthcoming with information which made the data collection process relatively stress free.

All of the interviews with community members and Campaign coordinators were conducted in their personal communities which allowed for a level of participant observation. Ideally, I would have liked to observe a community or coordinator meeting but because of time limitations I was not able to do so. However, conducting my interviews within the communities and homes of the interviewees gave me a level of understating of the day-to-day activities and roles played by the coordinators. Additionally, time spent in the communities allowed me to get to know the physical environment of each space and get a better sense of what each community was in need of.

My secondary sources were gathered using a number of different outlets. The media was useful for my research because so much of what I studied is current and, additionally, the media plays a large role in the Campaign. In addition to periodicals, previous studies on the Campaign were consulted, such as Sophie Oldfield's (2004) "Building Unity in Diversity: Social Movement Activism in the Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign" and a dissertation by Linn Hjort (2005) titled "South Africa's New Social Movements and Their Approach to the Liberal-

Democratic State: Differences and Possibilities.” Similar to this paper, both of these studies utilized interviews to gather information. However, both studies were conducted over much longer periods of time than this one and were able to compile a wider breadth of information. Lastly, I utilized the UCT library and a number of different resource centers to gather books and journal articles pertinent to social movements in both a global and South African context.

## **The Big Picture**

Christopher Rootes (2003: 139) wrote “[w]hether or not protests and single issue campaigns are part of some larger social movement, they may, cumulatively, contribute to the mobilization of a broader and potentially profoundly transformative social movement”. The context of which the Anti-Eviction Campaign is working in is an important one; is it part of a larger movement that is taking place currently throughout South Africa or an isolated pursuit for equality and justice?

There are, in fact, a number of popular movements throughout the country. There are movements that engage with the state on issues surrounding service delivery, land reform, labor practices, privatization and cost recovery policies. These movements include the Campaign, The Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee, the Landless People's Movement, Anti-Privatization Forum, and the Treatment Action Committee (TAC) (Ballard 2006b: 399). Additionally, one of the movements closely aligned to the Campaign is The Abahlali baseMjondolo (Shack Dwellers) Movement, which “began in Durban, in early 2005. Although it is overwhelmingly located in and around the large port city of Durban it is, in terms of the numbers of people mobilized, the largest organization of the militant poor in post-apartheid South Africa” (Abahlali website). Abahlali and the Campaign work in solidarity with one another; Campaign activists recently traveled up to Durban to join Abahlali in their annual “Unfreedom Day” celebration.

Up until 2006, both the Campaign and Abahlali were members of Social Movement Indaba (SMI), a national forum for “grassroots solidarity and common campaigns on the ground”. SMI is, in theory, a safe space for movements and campaigns to meet, network, and debate on

pressing issues. However, in recent years it has been dominated by NGO's and academics, causing community-based organizations to get pushed to the side. This chain of events was unfortunate, as it is important for community based movements to have a safe space to discuss and engage with one another. However, with the emergence of the internet and other technological advances, there are still ample ways for organizations to communicate.

The TAC was formed on December 10, 1998 (International Human Rights Day) in Cape Town in order to “campaign for treatment for people with HIV and to reduce new HIV infections” (TAC website). To date, the efforts of the TAC have “resulted in many life-saving interventions, including the implementation of country-wide mother-to-child transmission prevention and antiretroviral treatment programs” (TAC website). The TAC is seen, by many, as the most successful post-Apartheid social movement because of the large role it played in pressuring the both the government into delivering ARVs to poor people living with HIV/AIDS (Friedman & Mottiar 2003). Where Abahlali sees itself as more militant, the TAC has a more complicated relationship with the government as it tries to negotiate the line between conflict and cooperation in order to ensure proper rights for all people.

In September 2001, the UN World Conference on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and other related forms of discrimination (WCAR) was to be held in Durban, as a way for Western governments to trumpet the successes of the South African liberation movement. However, because many social movement organizations in South Africa do not support the ANC and the policies it put forth they decided to use WCAR as a catalyst to come together and mobilize, for once, as a united force (Desai 2002: 123). Soon enough, progressive

movements and activists from other areas of the country (the Campaign included) and the world were contacted and the Durban Social Forum (DSF) was created. The name gestured “respectfully and militantly towards the Genoa Social Forum which, only months before, had presided over the biggest anti-capitalist demonstrations that Europe had seen, perhaps, since 1968” (Desai 2002: 124).

The DSF was a movement that incorporated a number of different social movement organizations and, with that, a range of politics. It faced innumerable challenges, including harassment from ANC officials who were scared of the possibility of being embarrassed on a global stage. Ashwin Desai (2002: 134) describes the DSF march as one of “joy and surprise and vibrancy” and estimates that between 20,000 and 30,000 people were out on the streets of Durban; in fact it was the “largest public demonstration seen in the city since the anti-apartheid marches of days gone by”. An article in the Durban Sunday Tribune, as quoted by Desai (2002: 137) declared that the DSF march was “a decisive moment in this history of post-Apartheid South Africa. For the first time there was a mass based and very public rejection of the ANC, their economic policies, and the leadership of Thabo Mbeki”.

### **The Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign**

According to their website, The Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign was formed with the aim of fighting evictions, challenging water cut-offs and poor health services, obtaining free electricity, securing decent housings, and opposing police brutality. The Campaign is currently made up of 44 communities throughout the Western Cape Province, all of which are

faced with different difficulties. The Campaign often acts as an aide to these communities; providing experience and support while engaging with the state. Finding the right words to explain the Campaign is not easy; as Ashraf Cassiem, the acting Chairperson of the Campaign, put it “this is one thing that cannot be put into a box” (Interview. 22 April 2008). Words that have been used to describe the Campaign throughout my interviews vary: community, innovative, necessary, safety net, radical, militant, dogmatic and pro-poor are just a few.

The Campaign engages with communities and the state on a number of different levels: direct action, legal resources, mass mobilization and education. Along with organizing mass marches and demonstrations against evictions the Campaign also directly challenges evictions as they are taking place. Campaign activists often hold sit-ins or demonstrations to physically inhibit families from being evicted and also put families back into their homes if they could not resist the eviction. Water and electricity are also often reconnected by activists and community members after the government turns them off. Ashraf phrased it best: “The Anti-Eviction Campaign is very easy to participate in; you do an action and then you're in. If you're being evicted you repatriate, if you're being cut off from water you re-connect and then you get conviction from the Anti-Eviction Campaign (Interview. 22 April 2008).

However, it is not always as simple as Ashraf makes it seem. The Campaign utilizes a number of unconventional direct action tactics in order to engage with the state. Dr. Sohpie Oldfield, a professor who spent time researching with the Campaign told me about one community that was represented by the Campaign and was engaging with the state about the lack of available water in their neighborhood. They were having trouble getting through to council's

office so the community decided that if they would not give them water, the community would just use the councils'. With that, they brought all of their dirty clothes and dishes and proceeded to wash their dirty underwear, bras, dishes and themselves in the councils' office. This innovative way of engaging with the state, along with linkages with local level officials was successful and this community entered into negotiations with the state about water delivery (Interview. 17 April 2008).

The Campaign also has a Legal Task Team which provides legal resources and counsel to communities who choose to use the courts to secure their rights. The legal team also represents individuals who are arrested during protests and demonstrations. The mass mobilization and education of the Campaign is one of its more interesting operations. One of the roles of the Campaign coordinators (whose jobs will be discussed at greater length later) is to educate communities who wish to involve themselves with the Campaign. This is done using a number of different tools, including mass community meetings and activist meetings. Ashraf talked at length about the need for education within the communities. He said:

when somebody is evicted I try and tell them they are not one in a million, they are not alone in Cape Town or even in [South Africa]. We try to tell them that they are part of people all over the world dealing with the same problem. When people are placed they know what to do... For instance, global capital – they can directly relate to it now. The connection between me in the township, the bank in the city, the state, to the world bank. We make that sort of connection for people so that they can place themselves (Interview 22 April 2008).

The Campaign currently has six full time coordinators; all of whom are elected by their local community, and whose roles vary between communities. As described by Mzonke Poni, a Campaign coordinator, the role of the coordinators is to “mobilize and educate communities,

initiate community action and coordinate those communities, protect whatever belongs to those communities and to research” (Interview 23 April 2008). All coordinators are elected by their community and act as liaisons between the community and the state. As one coordinator put it, “as coordinators of the anti-eviction campaign, we are not leaders in the traditional authoritarian sense. Instead, we are like a set of cutlery. We are the tools that are there to be used by poor communities fighting against the cruel and oppressive conditions of South African society” (WCAEC website). Ashraf reiterated this sentiment when he talked about the AEC coordinators he works with: “In the Anti-Eviction Campaign we are not leaders, we are coordinators. We facilitate things, we believe our leaders are being born—we are preparing our children and others to lead” (Interview 22 April 2008).

When asked if the coordinators do a sufficient job representing the communities he was very honest in his answer. There are times when people are elected to lead a community, either as a coordinator or chairperson, and they do not follow the mandate given to them. Sometimes they join political parties against the will of the people and other times they come to community meetings with preconceived ideas of what they want to discuss and achieve. Similar to any organization, there are those who are self-enriching and are only looking for ways to further their careers. However, those people are few and far between in the Campaign and those that I had the pleasure to meet were incredibly passionate about the Campaign and the greater goal of dignity and rights for all.

The tactics used by the Campaign are dictated by the specific communities and their needs. Some engage with the state while others enter into strategies of collective resistance and

confrontational relationships with the state (Oldfield & Stokke 2005). Mzonke said that the strategy used

depends on the need of that particular community. It depends if it is an issue that can be approached through litigation or negotiation. I think these decisions are driven by members of that particular community and as the Anti-Eviction Campaign we try to share the experience we have and assist where we can (Interview 23 April 2008).

The Campaign stresses the importance of community involvement and development. “We demand community participation”, Ashraf said to me, “we cannot work in a community in which there is no participation. You see, herein this space they didn't have a voice but now they do-- everybody wants to hear what they say, the state included” (Interview 22 April 2008). While the following communities are all different in their battles and the strategies they use they are all linked by their association with the Campaign, their solidarity with one another and the fact that they are all community based and community run.

### **Khayelitsha's Waterfront: Section QQ**

The first Campaign activist I got in touch with was Mzonke. Along with his job as a Campaign coordinator, Mzonke is also the chairperson of section QQ Concerned Residents , a movement that associates itself with the Campaign. The first day I met Poni was in Khayelitsha where he took me to his home in Section QQ, an informal settlement in Khayelitsha. Section QQ is the home to approximately 600 families and is located on a marshy land sprinkled with wooden shacks. There is no sanitation, only a few taps and limited electricity. To make matters worse, a section of QQ which is on lower ground is prone to terrible flooding during the winter,

flooding so bad that homeowners in that section need to relocate for the winter months or risk losing everything. Mzonke refers to this area as their own Waterfront, in reference to one of Cape Town's main tourist attractions.

Mzonke grew up in Khayelitsha and bought his own house in Section QQ in 1999. He did this with the hopes that being the owner of his own house would ensure him a better, more dignified life. However, because the area around his home has no running toilets and only four taps; he has to walk to his mother's house, which is one kilometer away, to use a bathroom. When he does not have the energy or motivation to walk to his mother's home he either crosses the N2 highway to relieve himself in the field or he goes to another site and uses someone's toilet. This however, is incredibly undignified and comes with conditions—you are responsible for cleaning the toilet. It does not matter what time of day it is; if your neighbors want their toilet cleaned and you have used it in the past week, you will clean it.

In March 2004, Mzonke initiated a campaign in Section QQ for better services and amenities. The Campaign supports the Section QQ struggle through solidarity in action and legal aide when Mzonke got arrested in 2005. This struggle has used a number of different strategies in order to garner attention and engagement with the government. They have barricaded the N2 a number of times, something that Mzonke believes has been successful because “when we speak to the city, they listen. When we want something they respond to us because they know what we will do. They talk after we barricade” (Interview 23 April 2008). They have served a number of memorandums to the city of Cape Town and are in constant discussions with the city. In 2005 the residents of Section QQ were told that some of them were going to be relocated, which was

received relatively positively. Section QQ is incredibly prone to floods and most people are forced to leave in the winter either way. However, in 2006 when ANC lost the local elections to the Democratic Alliance (DA) QQ was sidelined and negotiations had to start from scratch. It was not until 2007 when it was announced that 200 families from QQ would be moved. However, QQ residents are not going to be moved until phase four of the relocation process and, unfortunately, the council has only recently begun phase one.

It appears that the city is relatively willing to engage Mzonke and his comrades in decisions. He described a time when “[t]he ward councilor just called me and told me they want to erect toilets in QQ and asked me what I thought. I told her no, we want the city to first commit to relocating residents of QQ and then we can erect proper toilets” (Interview 23 April 2008). This is interesting because, as will be discussed shortly, all levels of the government have been increasingly hostile towards the residents of Joe Slovo and Symphony Way. All communities have engaged in some level of illegal activities yet QQ Section is the only one that seems to have garnered any sort of respect thus far. The governments, both provincial and national, are determined to clear the areas that line the N2 highway of shack settlements. They claim they are doing so with the purpose of development and housing but that is a facade. It is no secret to anyone that this government is obsessed with the prospect of 2010 and the months this country is going to spend in the international spotlight. Unlike section QQ, which is hidden in the township of Khayelitsha and will probably never be seen by a typical tourist or soccer fan, Joe Slovo is ten minutes from the airport and will be visible by everyone. It is much easier to clear that area if the government goes over the heads of the residents, ignores their requests and their livelihoods, and

makes decisions without consulting them.

Additionally, Mzonke and his community are working on community empowerment programs for section QQ residents. I had the privilege of seeing the home they want to turn into a crèche, a project that is completely community-run. Community members are buying all of the supplies, all decisions are democratically made, and members of the community will physically build the crèche. Mzonke wants his community to feel some level of ownership over the crèche; “it will be theirs,” he said. Additionally, he is trying to develop a community clean-up program in which the main road (which is currently over run by trash) is cleaned not by shoddy workers from the government, but by the community members themselves. This, too, will give them a feeling of ownership over their own land and, hopefully, encourage people to keep the land clean.

### **Fighting the People's Fight: Joe Slovo Informal Settlement**

The Joe Slovo informal settlement is located in the township of Langa, the oldest black township in the Cape Town area. Currently, about 6,000 people reside in Joe Slovo, which is approximately a 15-minute drive from the city and is in walking distance of the Langa train station. There is no indoor plumbing in the settlement; water is retrieved from taps and the bathrooms are “bucket system” bathrooms. Many of the residents in Joe Slovo came from the Eastern Cape looking for work in the Cape Town area, including Mzwanele Zulu, the chairperson of the Joe Slovo Task Team (JSTT). Mzwanele told me that he came to Langa with the hopes of finding work and a better life for himself nine years ago, and have lived in Joe

Slovo since then (Interview 29 April 2008).

The JSTT formed in 2005 as a response to the government's N2 Gateway project, a flagship project aimed at clearing the N2 highway of shack settlements. The N2 Gateway project is being managed by the Thubelisha Housing Company, whose website describes the project as "a pilot project, [that] will address the needs of communities located in informal settlements adjacent to the N2 between the Bhunga Avenue Interchange in Langa and Boys Town in Crossroads" (THC website). In order to do this, the provincial government plans to move the residents of Joe Slovo to Delft and build bond housing in the area. This poses a number of problems for the Joe Slovo residents; firstly, Delft is much further outside of the city and it is very difficult to get to and from the city. Taxis rarely run out there and there is no train service, like there is to Langa. Secondly, people are being forced to leave their neighbors and community and relocate to an area unfamiliar to them, in a fashion that is eerily similar to the forced removals that defined much of the Apartheid era.

It has been reported that "the cost of the bonded houses will be between R150,000 and R250,000 a unit. FNB bonds will be available to people who earn between R3,500 a month and R7,500 a month" (Barradas: 2007). Phase 1 of the project consisted of 700 three-story rental flats. The rents for these houses are upwards of R7000, which is way too expensive for the families currently residing in Joe Slovo to afford. Due to a bad fire in the settlement in 2005, the government succeeded in clearing the area of approximately 4,000 residents by using the fire as grounds to relocate them to Delft. The government is now trying to implement Phase 2, which would relocate another 6,000 families to Delft and clear the entire area.

The residents did not protest Phase 1 because they were told it would be temporary and because the families had, at the time, no other options. They lost all of their belongings, homes included, in the fire. However, when the government announced its plan for Phase 2 the community realized it was time to mobilize and engage with the state. Mzwanele told me that it was not difficult to mobilize the community: “we drove around with a megaphone one evening and, before we knew it, we had a community meeting going” (Interview 28 April 2008). In 2005, the Campaign approached the JSTT and offered their assistance and solidarity in the anti-eviction struggle that had commenced in the settlement. Mzwanele expressed how happy he was with the relationship between the JSTT and the Campaign; who assists in direct action, such as marches blockades and legal aide.

According to a statement released by the Minister of Housing, Lindiwe Sisulu, on September 19, 2007 “[t]he informal settlement is hugely overcrowded. There is no sanitation or running water. In winter the area floods intolerably and residents are forced to live in unhealthy, wet conditions. Disease is rife, crime is rampant, children play among fly-infested waste, and the putrid smell of raw sewerage permeates the area” (Sisulu 2007). She continued to say that “[t]he temporary accommodation provided for Joe Slovo residents in Delft is a marked improvement on living conditions in the informal settlement. There are toilets, electricity, running water, tarred roads - and fire and flood risks are all but eliminated. The average size of the temporary accommodation units at 27 square meters is substantially larger than the size of the average shack” (Sisulu 2007). As will be discussed in a later section, this is a fabrication for a number of reasons. In fact, Sisulu is doing everything she can to avoid conflict, and even peaceful

discussions, with the residents of Joe Slovo. However, all they want is to be consulted on the decisions that are impacting their lives. Just like Sisulu and her friends claim to want, they too want to upgrade the settlement, but they want to be part of the discussion on how to do so. They know that they will not be able to afford the bond houses that the government is planning to build on their land and they are tired of being treated like their lives are inconsequential and do not matter.

The strategies utilized by the Joe Slovo community have varied throughout its campaign. It first led a number of marches- some on the provincial offices and a larger one on parliament. At these marches they presented government officials with memorandums and demanded to see people in charge. However, after two years of being routinely ignored by the government, the very people they elected into office and who took an oath to represent the people, the community of Joe Slovo decided they had enough.

The people suggested, during a general meeting, that their last option was to barricade the N2 highway and force government officials to listen to them. It is important to note that this was not impromptu; it was planned and strategic. This incident, which was seen by some as brash and violent was, in fact, not the action of a few angry, troublemakers. This was a community fed up with being ignored; a community who stood up in solidarity and decided that it was time to take their destinies into their own hands.

Unfortunately, the N2 barricade did not go over exactly as planned. When the community arose in the early mornings of September 11, 2007 to begin building the blockade they were met by a police vehicle. Mzwanele, as the chairperson for the community, went out to speak to the

police and informed them of what was going to happen. At no time did the community try to hide their plans; in fact they called the local media outlets to ensure that the word of their protest and their arguments were spread. According to Mzwanele, the first cops he spoke to were sympathetic to their cause and knew that the community was being reasonable with their demands. This, however, did not stop the incident from escalating. In fact, it got completely out of hand. The police, continuously, open fired on people and upwards of 50 people were injured throughout the day.

Later that day, after much of the chaos calmed down, Mzwanele and another member of the JSTT approached the remaining police and asked if they could hold a general meeting. They wanted to update the community on residents who were hospitalized or incarcerated, the position of the N2 Gateway Director, and to make sure everything had calmed down. However, the police said they could not hold any public meetings; they could only go door-to-door and personally deliver these messages. Mzwanele and his partner agreed to this, but as they walked away they were arrested for inciting public violence.

After the N2 barricade the community decided to use legal avenues because, according to Zulu, they “did not want to be as arrogant or against the government as [they] have, at times, been represented” (Interview. 29 April 2008). They suffered a small setback when, in March, the Judge President of the Cape handed down a verdict in favor of the Thubelisa homes, ordering the forced evictions of the residents. They have, however, appealed this decision in the Constitutional Court and are awaiting that decision today. When asked about what he sees in the future for his community, Zulu told me that he hopes that the community can engage with the

state and convince the government to change their mind and build RDP homes that are affordable for the current Joe Slovo residents. He envisions a sports complex in Joe Slovo where the community can come together and take care of their needs, skills empowerment and education programs and sustainable facilities. “We will always fight” he noted, saying that what is happening is the opposite of democracy and that the people of Joe Slovo will always have a plan C, a plan C, and even a plan Z if necessary (Interview. 28 April 2008). They will continue to fight this fight, the people's right, until the government engages with them and end these forced removals that are so reminiscent of the apartheid-era.

### **A Sidewalk in Solidarity: Symphony Way**

In December of this past year, backyarders in Delft occupied unfinished N2 Gateway houses in the area. These houses are part of the same Thubelisha Homes project that the residents of Joe Slovo are protesting; the backyarders in Delft are protesting the allocation process, charging that they are getting skipped over on the waiting list. Currently, 70 percent of the houses are to be allocated to Joe Slovo residents (who are being moved to Delft against their will) and only 30 percent to current Delft residents. In December, the residents of Delft, with the support of the Campaign, occupied a number of the unfinished Thubelisha houses until February, when Thubelisha applied for second court order which, when granted, lead to days of brutal evictions.

Today, those who were evicted from the unfinished houses are living on the sidewalk in protest, which is where I met with Ashraf. Similarly to the other activists I have interviewed,

Cassiem stressed the community-orientation of the Campaign. He was very clear in the fact that it was not him, or his fellow coordinators, who organized the occupation of the N2 Gateway Houses; it was organized by the people and the Campaign followed them in solidarity. The people of Delft, he said, want a very simple thing—they want to live. People who have lived in Delft have been on the waiting list for houses for fifteen years, some more, and simply want to move into the houses that have been promised to them for years now. It is a fairly simple demand; the people are not looking for anything overly complicated or impossible.

The morning I spent in Delft was beautiful, the sun was shining and there was not a cloud in the sky. It was an impromptu visit and as I rushed to meet Ashraf, I tried to imagine Delft, an area which I had heard and read so much about but actually knew very little about. Delft is, as mentioned earlier, completely removed from the city. It is just under a half hour in the car, with no traffic. When we got to Delft I was shocked by its tranquility; it is eerily peaceful. There are no taxis screaming by, no airplanes shaking buildings, in fact, many typical city sounds had ceased. My first reaction to the silence was “this peace and quiet is nice” and it was not until I looked around and realized just how barren the land is was it that I realized how isolated and cut off Delft really is.

It did not take me long to understand just how much Ashraf cares about the Campaign. On our way out of the city Ashraf pointed out some landmarks: Joe Slovo, Khayelitsha, Gugulethu. I realized these are the things that define his being; his life and soul revolve around this movement. Ashraf was raised in Mitchell’s Plains, a notorious ‘coloured’ township. Known for its rampant drug use and crime, the area does not have the best reputation. However, this is

all hearsay; I never had the opportunity to visit the area. Ashraf left his home to move to Delft during the evictions, which has caused some contention within the Campaign. Because the Campaign prides itself on being community-led having someone who is not from Delft leading this struggle is seen, by some, as slightly hypocritical. However, I as I observed Ashraf's interactions with the Delft sidewalk community I realized how important his presence was.

For starters, Ashraf is often seen as the face of the Anti-Eviction Campaign and this particular struggle, the Delft-N2 Gateway struggle, has been in the limelight for the past couple of months. It sends a message to both government officials and the national audience when such a prominent face is living in solidarity with the movement. It also gives strength to the community; they know they are not alone in this struggle. They have the physical and emotional support of the Campaign and its leaders. Additionally, Ashraf has taken on a role of moral community leader that does not fall under the title of "AEC Chairperson". For example, while we were sitting inside his home eating lunch a girl of about fifteen or sixteen walked by with a young boy on her back. She exchanged pleasantries with Ashraf who, after a second, called her back inside and immediately asked her why she was not in school. Only after she explained that she stayed home because her mother was not feeling well and someone had to watch the younger children did he allow her to continue on her way. This surprised me, but I quickly realized it shouldn't have. People of all ages had been coming up to Ashraf all morning with questions about everything and anything. The younger kids admire him and the older residents look to him for support and advice. For example, the Campaign is doing more than just protest and legal action in Symphony Way; they are creating community empowerment programs and education

programs. He is also active in the creation of a crèche and youth programs for when the children are on school holiday. The elders of this community, Ashraf included, are not willing to let their children get lost in the system; they are doing everything they can to ensure that they can live normal, healthy lives.

The situation of the sidewalk squatters is getting dire; they are running out of food and water and the Campaign has recently appealed for aide from the greater Western Cape community. And while I sensed this feeling of urgency while it was dulled by the energy and quiet buzz of protest. The people on Symphony's Way, it seemed, knew they were part of something real. While it was clear they were frustrated with their situation and they were angry; they also knew they were not alone and that they had forced the government to listen to them. They are no longer sitting back waiting for handouts, they are making noise and are making themselves known.

### **A Community in Need**

I had the privilege of spending the day with Thozama, a woman who lost her backyard shack in the Langa fire and was moved out to Delft in 2005. Thozama is living in a TRA, or temporary accommodation, which is a one room house that could “fall down if the wind blows too hard or if you throw a stone at the wall” (Interview. 24 April 2008)”. There are limited working taps in the area and there are six toilets for upwards of 60 people, which is an unsanitary and an undignified way to live. Sisulu's take on the temporary accommodations, quoted above, is nothing short of insulting. These homes are nothing for her to be boastful about; they are, in no

way, a respectable way to live. However, she would not know that as she has yet to visit the area. Sisulu also claimed that “[t]here is a humane developmental approach to this, which has already seen the relocation of approximately 4500 families of the same community over the last two years” (Sisulu 2007). I am glad that Sisulu can make herself feel better by championing her “pet” project but the majority of these families, of which Thozama is one, were systematically forced to relocate to Delft after their homes were destroyed by a devastating fire. Thozama told me that her community wants the government officials to “come to us and sit down with us and see what is happening. [They] must come here and hear the wind and smell this place... we want [them] to come to us and talk to us” (Interview. 24 April 2008).

The Campaign is currently not active in this community which is unfortunate. Thozama and some of her neighbors expressed feelings of frustration and confusion at their current situation and did not seem to know what to do. The disconnect between the activities of the Campaign and this particular community became clear when Thozama talked about their relationship to the government, both local and national. She talked about the promises made by government officials during campaign months but how these are never upheld: “[t]hey come to us and they tell us they are going to that and that and that for us, but no! They don’t do anything” (Interview. 24 April 2008). When asked why they continue to support the ANC (many of the members of the community still vote for the ANC, even with all of these lost promises) Thozama explained that “from the start we were voting for the ANC, [and] now it is not easy to change and vote for somebody else because we know that [any] person we are going to vote for is going to do the same” (Interview. 24 April 2008). One of the cornerstones of the Campaign’s ideology is a “No

Land, No House, No Vote” campaign which is fairly self-explanatory. The Campaign believes that people should withhold their vote until all of their basic needs are met. The women I met did not know that there were alternatives out there; they continued to throw their support behind a government that forced them out of their homes and have abandoned them in a dusty, barren land removed from the city because they did not know what else they could do.

One of the women I talked to, Nomthunzi, acts as the liaison between the community and low level government officials. People come to her with their problems and she takes them to the council offices. However, these low level officials have little say over policy and can do little to help the people on the ground in Delft. It was very clear to me that this community needs an organizing body, such as the Campaign, to help mobilize and educate the community on their rights and the action they should take. Thozama said to me at one point that “if somebody can tell us where we can go and ask, we can go because there is nobody here telling us what to do” (Interview. 24 April 2008).

What is more, they have little knowledge about their rights as citizens; when I asked Thozama if anybody in the community acts as an educator on civil rights she replied, “oh no sweetie, we don't know nothing about those things, they don't tell us anything” (Interview. 24 April 2008). These people are worried, they desperately want people to listen to them and get them out of this temporary housing that they did not ask for. Winter is coming soon and the houses are not insulated and are prone to flooding but nobody knows what else to do but sit and pray for someone to answer their prayers.

## Obstacles & Successes

The obstacles and successes of each campaign are all relative to what each community is trying to achieve and must be measured by different standards. Successes on the ground are often measured by services and whether or not they are being delivered. This is important, especially considering the mission of the Campaign. On February 5, Thubelisha Homes released a statement in which they said “talks are underway...to *urgently* build homes specifically to release pressure on backyarders in the area” (quoted in Legassick 2008). This was released during the occupations of the unfinished houses and represented a significant change in tone from Thubelisha representatives. This was due, it must be assumed, to the occupations and the pressure that the backyarders put on the partners involved in the housing project. While it would be hopeful to believe that policy change will come out of the occupations alone, this is a step in the right direction.

Successes also determine community morale and collective identity. Della Porta & Diani (1999: 181) wrote “protest action has an important internal function: creating that sense of collective identity which is a condition for action towards a common goal”. When asked if he thought there were any strategies that worked better than others Ashraf noted “everything has been successful because it comes from the community. Whatever works for the community is a success... I don't know maybe there have been some things that needed more planning but eventually it all just comes together (Interview. 22 April 2008).

Throughout my interviews, the Campaign was described as “innovative” by a number of people. This became clear to me throughout my time spent with activists and the stories they

shared about different strategies utilized. For example, one community was negotiating with an elected official and told him what exactly they wanted for their community. He said that he could not just agree to their demands and that they would have to meet. He tried to get the community leaders to come down to his office but they refused; they told him that he must come to their community if he wanted to speak with them. So he came and met with the community members for over five hours. At one point he tried to excuse himself to use the restroom but because he had not resolved the issue as promised they brought him a bucket, took people's clothes to cover him up, and he used the bathroom right there. Once it was clear that this meeting would not end until a resolution was drafted the two parties came up with a compromise and the arrears in that area were cut. This one incident is considered a success for the obvious reason but it is more than that; it is a level of community empowerment that developed when a government official came to their community and sat with them for hours. This is something that cannot be measured.

South Africa is a country that has been plagued by a history of racial segregation and inequality. Today is no different; the country is still trying to heal its wounds and overcome years of racist socialization and education. However, the Campaign prides itself on its racial equality; it is, as Ashraf put it, “the only place where there is no racial tension. We are the only movement or organization that brings people of color together at any given time” (Interview 22 April 2008). Mzonke reiterated that claim, saying that while they have come across racial tension in some communities, caused by “propaganda spread by people who push a certain political agenda” (Interview 22 2008) there is no internal racial tension. Again, this is not a success that can be measured but it is note-worthy because in a country where everything is racialized it is

important to have people come together for a common goal across racial lines.

Obstacles that the Campaign faces take a number of different forms. There are the obvious ones, such as the national government, provincial governments and the banks. The policies of these bodies are what the Campaign is protesting; but the governing and financial bodies are formidable--they have more resources and support and are just more powerful. Additionally, the Campaign also has to deal with the media and internal disagreements between communities and coordinators. Mzonke had an interesting take on conflict within the campaign:

“Look, Mark Twain once said you don't need two people with same opinions in one room; otherwise there will be no progress there. That is the uniqueness of the Campaign--we don't normally agree on things and we always see things from different perspectives and some, you know, some people see that challenge as negative but us, within the Campaign, see it positively because it forces us to grow as a campaign. But it can also be an obstacle because sometimes it gets very difficult to push the program (Interview. 23 April 2008).

Jane Roberts, the chairwoman of the Delft Symphony Anti-Eviction Campaign, presented a similar sentiment, “[w]e disagree; they are not real fights but they are there. But, you know, when we open the door and go outside they are over” (Interview 22 April 2008). The ability to look behind internal conflicts is important in a campaign of this nature, one that deals with such a wide variety of people and issues. It is not an easy thing to do but, thus far, the Campaign seems to have been able to keep their internal disagreements, which are inevitable, at bay.

Auntie Jane, as her community fondly refers to her, is an interesting person to talk to as she was the only woman from the Campaign I spoke to. Women have historically been prominent figures in the Campaign but that is not reflected in the leadership. Auntie Jane was a powerful and strong woman who, while chairing her community, was also running a start-up creche and

was, at the time of our interview, in the middle of making lunch for all of the children. She briefly spoke to the challenges she faces as a woman, saying that “sometimes we get a man who says 'you cannot tell us what to do, you are a woman and must keep your mouth shut'. But I don't care, I can take them on and I will. I know my rights; we are equal in South Africa now and, you know, I have gained respect here” (Interview 22 April 2008).

The media also plays an integral role in the Campaign and the relationship between the two is tricky. There are times when the media is extremely helpful with information dissemination but, at other times, the media often manipulates stories and portrays Campaign actors as trouble makers and criminals. For example, a number of statements have been made by different media outlets and government officials that claim community members are bullied into supporting the Campaign. This may be true in some instances (I have not heard or observed any of that; each community I visited was extremely unified) but there is a problem when these ‘drama pieces’ replace what should be reported, mainly the lack of service delivery to the poor. This is not something unique to the South African experience; it is something that countries all over the world are experiencing. However, what is lacking here are progressive media outlets, such as radio shows and magazines. To date, I have come across only one progressive magazine, *Amandla!*, which attempts to present an alternative to the mainstream media. However, with all of its faults, contemporary media and technology cannot be faulted too much as it plays a large role in bringing communities and movements together, something that will be discussed in greater detail in the following section.

At one point Auntie Jane explained that “successes come out of marches and court cases

and, most importantly, mobilizing external people. If they see what you are doing to help the poor, they will help you” (Interview. 22 April 2008). This touches upon the importance of engaging the larger community and gathering support outside of the campaign for one's cause. Cassiem is convinced that “the whole country supports our cause, whether they know it or not” (Interview. 22 April 2008). He continued and said, “we don't want to bowl you over, we do not want to convince them, they must convince themselves so that when they join the Anti-Eviction Campaign they participate. [People] know what to do because they are angry enough” (Interview. 22 April 2008). This speaks to the need to build a larger movement and the question of if that is possible, or if it is already happening, here in South Africa.

### **Talkin' About a Revolution**

Earlier in this paper I examined other social movements in the country and discussed one instance of when they all came together to protest a larger power, the WCAR. The question that remains is what is next? Are these grassroots, community-based movements strong enough to band together and revolutionize South Africa? Do they even want to? Is the ANC going to become more defensive and, therefore, harder to engage with?

Throughout my interviews I gathered the sense that there was a passion and commitment to revolutionary change but a hesitance to fight the status quo. The ANC, as the liberation party, has an assumed moral authority and legitimacy that is hard to challenge. The violence of the 1970's and 1980's is still fresh in people's minds and hearts and I don't think there is anybody in this country that wants to revisit that tumultuous time. However, may be changing, as demonstrated by the DSF protests. According to Desai (2002: 147), "the ANC has to be challenged and a movement built to render its policies unworkable". One such policy, the "Slums Act" may act as the catalyst for a greater movement. The act, which is formally titled the "Elimination and Prevention Of Re-Emergence of Slums Bill" was proposed in 2006 in KwaZulu-Natal "to provide for the progressive elimination of slums in the Province of KwaZulu-Natal; to provide for measures for the prevention of the re-emergence of slums; to provide for the upgrading and control of existing slums; and to provide for matters connected therewith" (KZN Housing Department). Similar legislations are now being drafted by all other provincial legislatures, including the Western Cape. Both the bill and the premise of its extension

have been met with resistance from social movement organizations throughout the country. In an article for Independent Online, Wendy Jasson da Costa quoted Dale McKinley, of the Gauteng-based Anti-Privatization Forum (APF), as warning the government that it could be heading for a "class war" if it imposed such legislation in the province. The Campaign put out a press release arguing a similar sentiment, We, the poor residents of the Western Cape, wish to make aware to the rest of the country that we will not sit by while our communities and our livelihoods are destroyed. We will oppose the Slums Bill in every place, shape and form” (AEC website). But how much can these movements really do on their own?

When talking about civic disobedience, Rootes (2003: 141) wrote “[i]n no case has direct action been successful in changing government policy on its own. Every instance of “successful” direct action has been paralleled by significant shifts of public opinion against the policy that is the object of contention”. This goes back to the point discussed earlier about gathering support from the greater public and developing a pro-poor national sentiment. This does not have to be anti-ANC or even against all capitalist policies, but there needs to be a greater urgency from all South Africans to help those who are ignored by almost everyone around them.

The activists who participated in this study had differing opinions on what the future holds for this country and for their campaign. As Ashraf told me “[a]s the AEC we do not want to be rulers. We are not ready to rule, so that means we cannot take over a country... All that we are talking about is give us our land” (Interview. 22 April 2008). Mzonke spoke to a similar condition: “I, as an individual, think that we are not at a stage where it is not relevant for us to establish a worker's party or a class based party. We have to organize the masses of the country

and organize a national based movement and then go from there” (Interview 23 April 2008).

The Anti-Eviction Campaign and, similar community based movements, have given their communities hope and stability and, in a number of cases, have successfully won rights and services for their communities. Additionally, the mere presence of these popular movements puts pressure on the ANC and “have contributed to the emergence of a political climate that encourages state elites to become more responsive to the country's most marginalized citizenry” (Ballard et al 2006: 415). These movements are truly on the brink of revolutionizing this country; they have the passion and experience. They have anger and leadership. Now they just need the support of their brothers and sisters and fellow South Africans.

### **Suggestions for Further Research**

There is a wide range of research on post-apartheid social movements in South Africa today. They are, as discussed in this paper, an integral part of the new democracy and it seems like that role will only grow from here. Further researchers on the subject may want to observe more Campaign activities, such as protests and community meetings. That would, I believe, give the researcher a better sense of the organization and the community members involved. Additionally, it would be helpful to interview more community members; those who may not be directly involved with the policies and coordination of the Campaign but are represented by it. Lastly, this is an evolving process. Social movements rarely just go away and if they do their effects linger long past their demise. In this paper I tried to answer the question “what are people doing about their own destinies?” which is one that can be, and must be, explored in countries

around the world. It is a question that must be returned to in South Africa, as it is a country at the tipping point of a revolution.

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## **Appendix A- Interview Questions**

Dr. Sophie Oldfield; Professor of Environmental & Geographical Studies UCT  
17 April 2008

What is your role with the AEC?

So did anything tangible come out of the research development group?

In terms of more active protest, what have you seen that has worked and has not worked?

Can you give a few examples?

Can you describe the Campaign in 5 words?

Can you speak to the disconnect between the campaign and SMI and other NGO's?

Has it been difficult for you, as an academic, to build a trusting relationship with the AEC?

When was the a moment for you when you realized that the ANC was not delivering?

### **Ashraf Cassiem; Chairperson of the Anti-Eviction Campaign**

**22 April 2008**

How do you feel that coordinators have been successful?

On that same note, is there large youth participation?

How do you define citizenship?

Do you think, with the number of communities around the country that are experiencing these sorts of movements there will ever be a time there where they ever join together and form a more revolutionary party?

Is there racial tension within the campaign?

You said the state defines you, not as citizens, but as clients. So how do you personally define yourself as a citizen? How do you enact your citizenship?

Do you feel a disconnect between the rights that the state feels you have and the rights that *you* feel you have?

It seems to me that the country seems to use the constitution, and the liberalism of it, as a face.

How do you feel your rights perceived by the public, NGOs and academics?

Do you think that keeps people from supporting your cause?

How are your leaders trained?

How do you access these resources?

How do you negotiate your autonomy with state agents?

How have activities changed since the AEC's birth?

Have you found any strategies are more successful than others or does it depend on the particular community?

How would you describe the Campaign in five words?

### **Jane Roberts; Chairperson of Symphony Way Organizing Committee**

**22 April 2008**

How long have you been living in Delft and how long have you been chairperson of this committee?

What have you done to mobilize your community?

When did you begin to feel betrayed by the ANC?

What obstacles do you face?

How do you feel you are represented by the media?

IS there racial tension in the Campaign?

How do you feel you relate to academics and NGOs?

What challenges do you face as a woman in a position of leadership?

**Mzonke Poni; AEC coordinator/Chairperson of Section QQ Concerned Residents  
23 April 2008**

What is your role in the AEC?

What does your job as a coordinator entail?

What strategies are used to mobilize communities?

What kind of action tools have been used and what works and what doesn't?

What challenges have you faced, personally and as a campaign, internally and externally?

Have you found any progressive media outlets?

Do you find that in communities where you have used direct action do people seem to get disinterested?

How do you decide which strategy to use?

Have there been any obstacles within the campaign?

When did you realize nothing was happening?

What was the role of the AEC in QQ?

Are there members of your community that are still ANC members?

Do you have a good relationship with the community?

Is there a set political ideology of the campaign?

If there was a contesting party would AEC support it?

How would you describe the campaign in 5 words?

How do you feel about NGO's that preach social justice and reform but don't practice that?

Has there been any racial tension?

**Thozama & Nomthunzi; Delft Temporary Housing Residents  
24 April 2008**

What was the reaction in Langa when they said they were moving people?

Did people in Langa protest or argue?

What political party do people in your community tend to support?

What would you say to Thabo Mbeke or MOH Sisulu if you had the chance?

Do you have anybody to act as a liaison?

Do you think if you had a formal body, like the AEC, your voices would be heard?

Is there anybody educating you about your rights and what rights are protected by the constitution?

**Mzwanele Zulu; Chairperson of the Joe Slovo Task Team**  
**29 April 2008**

What is your role in the Joe Slovo Task Team?

What is the relationship between the Task Team and the AEC?

Are you happy with this relationship?

What strategies has your community utilized?

What is the relationship you have with the media?

Do you feel that these community struggles may ever turn into something larger?

What is the next step for the Task Team?

What do you see as the future for Joe Slovo?

Can you describe your movement in 5 words?

What do you see at the politics of your movement? Do you support any political party?